

# The Use of Peace Economics in Promoting the Socio-Economic Growth of Nigeria

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## Abstract

The current democratic rule in Nigeria has continued to witness more horrors and terrifying encounters. It has witnessed, more than the military rule and the civil war had experienced going down the memory lane of the past historical antecedents of the Nigerian nation and taking stock of the series of the happenings since the inception of the present 4<sup>th</sup> Republic. Across the six geo-political zones are daily cases of armed conflict, impasse of violence, regional demands and agitations that compromise disintegration and divisive tendencies and test of the Nigerian nation state. To resolve the aggregate of the emerging and growing agitations, the series of conflict issues, social insecurity and backlashes from the Nigerian communities has taken so much toll on the polity and the economy aside of the tensed and severed human relations that are suffered. The cost of all these in human terms, and in response to the conflicts have come with devastations across the varying sectors of the economy. It is but against these backdrops, that this study has endeavored to look into few of the cases of social insecurity and what impact they have on the Nigerian economy, unearth the poor response pattern and the chain of hostile reactions to the conflict handling styles, and, the cost on postconflict rehabilitation despite the need for such. Lastly, the study has recommended among others, that the installation of a stable peace could only be achieved, if a multi-track approach of teamwork and positive role-playing are all encouraged to promote a virile and vibrant economy that improves the per capital income of the country and the earning powers of individuals and businesses in addition to promoting social cohabitation among the entire Nigerian populace.

**Key Words:** Conflict, Nonviolence Resistance, Peace Economics, Socio - Economics, Human Development, Security, Peacebuilding, Postconflict

## 1. Introduction

The recent unfolding events in the country have continued to pose some threats and challenges that are by no means piffling to the on-going democratic process, and, by extension, to the economy and the sovereignty of the Nigerian nation. Knowing that the prestige of a country flows from its long standing history of not only its growth and development in science and technology or in armament, but in how much it has been able to prevent developments that could lead to war or its potential challengers and disintegration among its citizens and neighbors. It is but further assessed against the background of how much it has been able to extirpate elements that could undermine peace, or rather, serve as obstacles or menace to peace and mutual coexistence and, in how much it has disallowed policies that incline towards the generation of conflicts or wars. The world has today been tasked to migrate from wars to peace, from enmity to friendship and hate to love, the long existing paranoia of war is shifting to that of institutionalization and global entrenchment of peace. This is the new trend and the concern at the global level: building a new world of order and a global constituency that disregards violence as a way of resolving conflicts and differences. The new trend has been that of uprooting conflict and violence generating stimulants in our societies. Though humans are instinctively aggressive as put by Goldstein (1989), safe, acceptable channels for the expression of this destructive instinct must be found or society as a whole will suffer and this informs the recent development of globalization of peace and utter eradication of war and hostility. The recent campaign and the advocacy for peace and nonviolence resistance to conflict resolution are agitations that kick against the need to spend on arsenals and armaments. The reason is simple. It is just because it is the citizens that bear the brunt of the terrible outcomes of wars in the short and long run. It is also because the state's economy is in the end subjected to a long-term deterioration with conflict economics visited as an option for trauma healing and societal rehabilitation. At postconflict reconstruction stage, some relevant individuals that are considered to be key to the reconstruction process must be invited and be subsequently patronized. Unfortunately, some of these key and relevant individuals who *must* be consulted must have played some cardinal roles and had dictated the pattern of the conflict through their input and commitment of not only finance, but the commitment of some other logistic and moral supports that had helped to perpetuate or change the position of the conflict to what it eventually was. Normally the reconstruction, the rehabilitation and reintegration at postconflict stage are all done by conflict entrepreneurs and other beneficiaries of conflicts, that in itself, weakens the state resources and further empowers such individuals. Exasperatingly, parties in the end are always left with no other option than to go to the round table for dialogue and amicable resolution by shifting positions and, by building a

common ground for *peace*.

In view of the emerging developments of security breaches and social disorder that have taken the centre stage of our national life in recent times, many concerned interests have begun to emerge and spirited debates engaged on how to handle and how not to handle the current impasse of insecurity; trying to see how to stymie the spate of the insecurity and, to lobby for policy intervention and strategies that promote a lasting peace and development. Affirming this, Suberu (1999) is of the opinion that Nigeria has emerged as the outstanding example in Africa of the use of federal-local institutions to contain disintegrative tendencies and to promote integrative processes at the national level. The commitment to federalist accommodation and integration in Nigeria he says, has survived the turbulent contours of nearly four (but now over five) decades of independent statehood during which the country has witnessed the breakdown of constitutional republics, the eventual abortion of a protracted Third Republic, a damaging 30-month civil war, periodic military coups and other form of political violence. However, today, perhaps more than during any other period in the country's history since the 1967-70 civil war, the nature of Nigerian federalism has become precarious and contentious Suberu contends.

Though efforts had been dissipated to contain the spate of the emerging violent conflicts, contrary to the construct of joint problemsolving and diplomatic resolution of the conflict and the piling conflict issues and their triggers, the approaches that were thus far harnessed have in their magnitude, proved to be inefficient and cost demanding, strenuous and indeed, stressful with so much spending on security, peace-enforcement and intelligence gatherings all to naught but to the detriment of the Nigerian economy. The mechanisms have to a great extent, continued to defile civility and best practice in conflict management, resolution and peace building process. They are mechanisms that have passionately provided the agents of the state actors with impunity and the immunity to be spared from being questioned for their excesses and atrocities while the intervention by the state continues and while the peace-enforcement exercise lasts. The recent cases in Baga and Bama in north-east of Nigeria are just two of the cases that continue to emerge on daily basis to demonstrate a swift and flagrant violation of terms or rules of engagement in peacekeeping or peace-enforcement and still a debate and a national issue that is aired on both local and international media. Not only have the conflict handling mechanisms touched on the sensibility of parties in a number of the conflicts whose pattern of response have been violent and devastating, they are mechanisms that have led to a colossal loss of lives, human rights violations and defilements, violence against civilians and a monumental and an unprecedented weakening and slimming of the socio-economic life of the Nigerian nation. The handling of the conflicts by state actors have grossly been criticized to be fraught with incompetence, stifled and asphyxiated by unprofessionalism.

But the use of force is no longer a monopoly for government as nobly remarked by Dae-jung (2002) in his contribution during the centennial symposium for Peace Prize Laureates held in Oslo between December 6-12, 2001. That is to say, it is something that is now common to parties in conflict or parties that engage the state in conflict. Sometimes, the opposition wins the sympathy of others like the case in Syria where rebels termed terrorists are gaining some international concerns from countries such as the United States, Saudi Arabia, the European Union members with a swift opposition by Russia and China. It is but exigent against the foregoing background of violence and its cost implications to, among our set goals and transformation agenda, find a better way of resolving the series of the emerging and the escalating conflicts leading towards anarchy and state collapse to re-fix the Nigerian project and the wobbling economy that has forced and mandated investors to divest and seek succor in better economies with conducive environments that are receptive, flourishing, supportive of investment and less challenges.

While this becomes imperative, the need to know the underlying factors of the conflicts, the conflict issues; both overt and covert, the parties; both primary and secondary and not exclusive of the shadows, the efforts dissipated in tackling the problem and their effectiveness, and nonetheless, what other resolution mechanisms could lend credence to solving the quagmire of the challenges of violent conflicts become some of the cardinal and fundamental issues that we need to know in handling the current social insecurity and the general youth restiveness in Nigeria today. Inter alia, how the series of the approaches and conflict handling styles have continued to impact on home and international trade, intra and inter bilateral relations, economic growth and development, unemployment and job creation all become an important question that we need to answer as investors, stakeholders, policy makers, government and the international community. One of the several ways by which we may have to face the herculean task is to begin to invest on peace and play down on wars and violent conflicts. This informs in essence, the need to talk about the trajectory of *Peace Economics* and to work within Sen's (2005) position that Cold War was an ideological Great Power conflict with an economic dimension that was primarily tied to the question of which system could provide the greatest benefit for the greatest number.

The construct of Peace Economics is aimed at bringing into fore the relevant nexus that exists between peace, peaceful coexistence and a peaceful business environment and challenges of devastating and destabilizing conflicts to a society. In recent times, the need to expand knowledge on such themes like economic sustainability,

psycho-socio rehabilitation, peace economics and concepts such as economics of conflicts, risk assessment and impact analyses, safe business environments, favourable policy intervention, nonviolent resistance to conflict have all become imperative in a rapidly globalizing community of which Nigeria is a key actor and a developing economy. Osman (2004) opines that it is almost conventional in analyses of war and postwar economies to emphasize the implications of instability on business and to note that the flow of investment is contingent on the achievement of peace.

## 2. Understanding Conflict

Our understanding of conflict, and not how we view or perceive conflict as individual or group matters in our responses to conflict and at the same time, on how we handle and resolve our conflict. One common thing that is beginning to run through our blood as individuals is our poor understanding of what conflict is. To the extent that we have continued to perceive and define conflict from negative perspectives as chaos and dangerous encounters speaks in contrast of what conflict is; especially positive and not negative conflict that leans towards such unwholesome definitions. CEPID (2003) - a non-governmental organization whose sectoral and thematic concern centres on conflict management and peacebuilding has through its several skill and capacity-building trainings discovered that the series of definitions that are given by participants while defining conflict have skewed often towards negativity with definitions like conflict means war, fight, chaos, aggression, argument, destruction, underdevelopment, crisis, and misunderstanding always rending the air. This has been the normal trend in giving conflict definition from time immemorial and up till date.

But are these definitions traditional and customary to Africa or they are cross-cutting? Regardless of how we look at the question as possessing grandiosity and magniloquence, we are compelled to admit that conflict is an inevitable aspect of our everyday life; it is ubiquitous and a normal thing in life. Conflict could be self-involving, on such instances requiring the judicious allocation of scarce resources or time, on choice-making and, on evaluation of goal accomplishment, on cash squeeze or financial problem, and, on cases that relate to unemployment, joblessness or loss of a job. At a point like this, we resolve our personal conflict without needing to transfer blames, anger or vexation on others and we try to comport ourselves in a decorous manner so that others do not feel quarreled because of a problem that they have not masterminded. We are compelled to manage our conflict with extra care so that others do not suffer from our iniquities or inadequacy and shortcomings. In a more critical way, a conflict may involve two or more parties and shadows, that is, the silent actors or actresses. An effective management of conflict and a sustainable resolution of conflict involving us and others begin with how much we have been able to manage our *personal conflict* effectively.

Scholars in conflict management and peacebuilding industry have not been oblivious of the fact that conflict might tend towards becoming negative such as in a struggle between two opposing forces, or emerge from a state of opposition between ideas, or a clash between two appointments that were made for the same time, or emerge from a psycho opposition between two simultaneous but incompatible wishes or drives, sometimes leading to a state of emotional tension and thought that could be responsible for neuroses. ([www.mediationprocess.org/conflictdefinition.htm](http://www.mediationprocess.org/conflictdefinition.htm)). A common agreement remains that the management of any conflict should effectively be done without allowing such to degenerate to a negative or violent conflict that could further escalate and have a serious effect on people, the environment, the socio-political and the economic life of the society. Thus in conflict management, peacebuilding rather than peace-enforcement becomes a ground rule and a rule of the thumb.

Corroborating the above position, Olagunju (2007) admits that whatever the degree of change that engenders them or that they engender, conflicts are not, in themselves bad. On the contrary, they can be instruments of progress in human relationships. Consequent upon our encounter with conflicts, there could be a change, new ideas could be generated, group cohesion could be tested, conflict could lead to teambuilding, reveal different needs and interests among individuals and groups, enable the expression of strong feelings, reveal the fears about each other and, about personal failure. Aside of the arguments posited by Olagunju, the aftermath of a conflict should ignite a better understanding of each other, lead to joint problemsolving and above all, respect for each other's view and perception.

Kymlicka (1995) reports that most countries today are culturally diverse and it is this diversity that gives rise to a series of important and potentially divisive questions. Minorities and majorities he says increasingly clash over such issues as regional autonomy, political representation, land claims and even on choice of national anthem or public holidays. Finding morally defensible and politically viable answers to these issues is therefore the greatest challenge facing democracies today. Ascribing to Kymlicka's position, Andrain and Apter (1995) agree that political participation exploded during the twentieth century asserting diverse policy demands, joined protest movements and supported revolutions. Today, electoral participation represents the main type of political activity for most people. This in a sense, does not in the least mean that fewer individuals do not engage in protests, such as demonstrations, marches, boycotts, sit-ins and fight with police like it was recently the case

between the Ombatse ethnic militia of Alakyo community in Nasarawa State and the Nigeria Police where tens of men of the Nigeria Police and operatives of the State Security Agency (SSS) were reported to have been killed on 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2013. ([www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/policemen-killings-report-to...](http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/policemen-killings-report-to...)). Worthy of note it is to be attuned to the fact that most political scientists agree that a political community exists in a society whose members possess a pedigree of mutual sympathy and loyalty with respect to their participation in a common political unit, regardless of differences in custom, religion, social economic status, nationality and more to these. In other words, in a political community, there is among the people, a shared national identity. In every society it is the common political structure shared by the members that tends to create some minimal affective bonds among them. (Awa, 1976).

### **3. Conceptual Framework of Peace Economics**

The global economy has suffered a great deal of blow towards the tail end of last century and so at present. The devastating encounters have not affected Nigeria or Africa alone, they have equally affected the great and developed economies of Europe, America and the Middle East. Emanating developments from this scenario are the cross-cutting and the spiral effects that have webbed themselves in a network that has serious destabilizing outcomes on local and global economies. Hobsbawm (2002) posits that the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the murderous century in recorded history. The total deaths caused by or associated with its wars according to Hobsbawm have been estimated at 187million while Dae-jung (2002) puts the number at 110million. The fact remains that no one will of course be able to estimate this number with any degree of precision. Violent conflicts as noted by Junne and Verkoren (2005) has at the end of twentieth century devastated many developing countries and thwarted development efforts in which vast amount of human energy and money were invested. Observing Miall (2001), they noted that sequel to violent conflicts, many countries are today actually worse off than they had been when they became independent. With every violent conflict, a society loses part of its capacity to handle its future in a peaceful way. The Nigerian experience of conflicts is among others a scenario that keeps instigating loss of lives, economic woes, human debasement and environmental degradation which are conspicuously exemplified in states constituting the north-eastern region of Nigeria under the threat of Boko Haram saga, a problem that is fast growing to affect the states in north-western Nigeria comprising Kano, Kaduna and in north-central; Plateau, where ethnic turned religious conflict has continued to devastate the state with a serious economic paralysis occasioning a dwindling internally generated revenue for the state and a comatose for the private sector.

That a number of countries both developed and the developing have had to strategize paradigms that could contain and curtail those advances and centrifugal attempts that could come from war, social insecurity and even the manageable natural occurrences that might be within the ambit and control of man is no longer contestable, it has become a challenge that needs to be conscientiously attended to. But as nations develop strategies and intervention mechanisms to check and mitigate the menace of social insecurity and violent conflicts that keep hindering economic activities and bilateral relations, stakeholders in different sectors are equally developing their coping capacities and strengthening their arsenal to contain the attacks on the global economy with minimal losses and less devastations where it virtually becomes inescapable to be faced with an unforeseen circumstances that could either be natural or human made. Though there seems to be a global campaign for peace and advocacy for nonviolence to the management and resolution of conflicts, there is the need to extend the efforts to address not only the management and resolution of conflicts because of the cost implication of such, but to developing a comprehensive mechanism or strategy that promotes conflict prevention in the first place.

Second, it is only worthwhile, that with the new development of global insecurity that tends to impact negatively on nearly all the economies today, there is the need to define the economic benefits of a peaceful society and in addition, to state in picturesque terms, the relationships between business and peace and, to lay the foundations for peace so that economies will thrive and boom with minimum strain and stress. There is the need to define the interface between business, peace and economics and economics of postconflict recovery.

Unless people have adequate information on what 'peace economics' is, and, what 'conflict economy' tries to address, the continuum of conflict which excludes violence, war and all forms of destabilization might continue to be misunderstood in conflict times or situations. This aside, rather than shift attention to war, emphasis it is said should be laid on the need for people to embrace peace. Junne and Verkoren (2005) again argue that organizations in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, have continued to orchestrate the need for shift in emphasis from development projects to peacebuilding and conflict prevention. It is the contention of civil society organizations holding stakes on peace work that a relatively small effort to avoid violent conflict could save large investment in development and prevent enormous expenditures for peacekeeping, and the alleviation of humanitarian problems that result from large scale violent conflicts. However, scholars in the field of conflict management and peacebuilding have over the years become encumbered and saddled with the responsibility of studying how conflict affects man and his immediate and distant environment. The attempt to explain the evil of violent conflict, the problem of conflicts and violently divided society, the impacts of violence and wars on man,



the devastations that are vested on biosphere and the natural environment as a result of violence and wars, the degradation that is suffered by the ecological system due to conflicts have led to a global study of peacebuilding and conflict management today. The effects of conflicts on politics, education, health, agriculture, development, social relations, peaceful and harmonious cohabitation, economy, and on those fundamental areas and areas that are adjunct to the welfare of man and his survival have continued to draw the attention and the explanation of stakeholders in every community. To the extent that survival is tied and staked to how much our economy can provide to support our living and existence as individuals and society poses the challenge of enthroning a sustainable peace and a peace protective environment where our economy is guaranteed of maximum security and minimum conflict, taking cognizance of the inescapability of conflict in human life. It is sequel to the backdrop of this challenge, that studying the concept of *Peace Economics* has become an obligation for us irrespective of our leanings and position in the society.

Brauer and Caruso (2012) have both defined the term Peace Economics as a branch of economics that studies the design of socio-sphere's political, economic, and cultural institutions and their interacting policies and actions to prevent, mitigate, or resolve any type of latent or actual violent conflict within and between societies. Both Anderton and John (2007) view Peace Economics as the use of economics to understand the causes and effects of violent conflicts in the international system and the ways that conflict can be avoided, managed or resolved. From a more comprehensive perspective, Isard (1994) – a renowned and a prominent American Economist defines Peace Economics as generally concerned with resolution, management or reduction of conflict in the economic sphere, or among behaving units in their economic activity. Going further, Isard postulates Peace Economics to be the use of economic measures and policy to cope with and control conflicts whether economic or not; and, in another of his definitions as the impact of conflict on the economic behavior and welfare of firms, consumers or organizations. In working within the precinct of a number of the variables that bring about the installation of processes or paradigms that lead to peace and peace economics, adopting Galtung's (1969) characterization of negative peace – connoting the absence of violent conflict and positive peace – showcasing the presence of peace-enabling structures exposes us to a better understanding of how to engage a peace protective environment for the benefit of individuals, the economy and the state. Peace Economics as could be seen leads often to positive economics.

#### **4. Why Peace Economics?**

It is argued that though war at the interstate level has subsided or has substantially reduced, current research directions and arguments and to a degree, so have the massive civil wars that took place especially in Africa in the '90s and 2000s, violent and destructive conflicts continue to take place at different levels; from self-directed harm (such as self-injury, suicide), and domestic violence between inmate partners to workplace violence and organized criminal violence all of which are massively costly and ultimately require positive structural solutions. ([en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace\\_economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_economics)). With the changing face of conflicts in Africa today and sequel to the increase in number of conflict actors that are becoming cross-cutting to include female combatants, teenagers turning to child-soldiers, civilians decoying as state security agents, mercenarism, insurgency and transnational or trans-border conflict, it becomes compelling to design an all-encompassing intervention mechanism, a multi-track diplomacy and a multidisciplinary approach that honors the contributions of both state and non-state actors (that is, track I and track II diplomacy). Levinson and Malore (1980) while discussing on social problems, deviance and social control both concur that social problems and deviant behaviors are actions of individuals or groups of individuals that are seen by a sizeable number of people as threatening to certain basic group values or institutions. This in essence, goes further to explain why it becomes imperative for both track I and II diplomacy to partner in solving the emerging problem of social insecurity and the growing cases of security breaches that are fast gaining ground across the globe. In the same vein, it is upon the gravity of this challenge, and the futility pose by conflict in making the achievement of the set goals for wars and conflicts to be realistic and achievable, that sociologists, psychologists, guidance-counsellors and other behavioral scientists have had to critically examine and assess the modern personalities in the line of rationality and irrationality, violence and aggression, proactivity and reactivity.

Indeed, the anatomy of man, has made man to be unreliable, made him to be a changing personality that acts under the tripartite division of personality known as the structural model of mental life of Id, ego and superego - meaning unconscious, pre-conscious and conscious (Hjelle and Ziegler 1985). All these are challenging to man and are by all ramifications, stress-inducing to any society or economy, especially the ailing ones that might lack the coping capacity to contain the excesses of negative conflicts and their costs where attentions or effective response mechanisms are failed to be put in place at the right time and, in the right dose.

#### **5. Peace Economics, Human Development and Change**

There is the need to know what nexus or interconnectivity exists between peace economics and human

development and change. Usman and Badmus (2010) posit that a country's potential for economic growth is greatly influenced by its endowment of physical (land, minerals and other raw materials) and human resources (proportion of people in the labour force and their level of skills). Albeit, the fundamentality of the above cited as prerequisites aside of capital in business mobilization is not only admissible both in traditional and corporate sense, but is in practical reality. Unfortunately, a safe and secure environment becomes an addendum today in view of the global insecurity that has sent many investors away from where they have made impacts in the economy of their host community for several decades but are later forced to relocate, close down or get liquidated because of certain unhealthy and hostile environmental challenges of war, constant threats to business operations, violent conflicts, anti-social behaviors like kidnapping and extortions, collection of imposed criminal private taxes, daily cases of cyber and organized crime, poor and unfriendly policies to enumerate but a few all of which have had some catastrophic effects on the Nigerian economy the last one and slightly above a decade. According to Manufacturing Association of Nigeria (MAN) in [jangola.com](http://jangola.com), a total of 834 manufacturing companies closed shop in 2009 as a result of their inability to continue to cope with the challenges posed by the harsh operating environment in Nigeria. This as it were, must have informed why several manufacturing and allied companies in different parts of the country were forced to move out of the country for a better business operating environment and opportunities with tendency for high productivity and investors' quest for satisfactory returns. A typical example is that of Dunlop Nigeria which relocated its plants to Ghana recently. Contributing to this and, to human development and change, Deutch (1973) argues that social change affects conflicts in a number of ways. Changes he says, are constantly shifting the bases of potentially antagonistic interests and the relative power position of individuals and groups. As the value potentiality of the social environment shifts, new demands it is said, new frustrations (that impact negatively and put the economy of a community or a nation at a grave-risk of destabilization and disintegration) and new incompatibilities equally arise. In line with the observations of scholars in behavioral science, Burrowes (1996) agrees that if human nature actually exists, then any serious attempt to define a universal conception of it - which may then be used to guide the creation of social cosmologies that takes real human beings into account - must satisfy several exacting criteria: It must be able to account for changes in the patterns of human behavior that have occurred throughout historical time; it must be able to account for the widely divergent behavioral patterns of people living in different cultures; it must also be able to account for the different behavioral patterns of women and men in any culture; and it must be able to explain why individuals within a particular culture behave differently at different times. One recent attempt to define a conception of human nature that satisfies all of these criteria according to Burrowes defines human nature only in terms of human needs. The undependability of man, and in the same corollary, the adaptability of man to change and pressure, circumstances and environmental influences, temptations and frustration succinctly would explain the evolution of the recent development and changes that have apparently, and, devastatingly paralyzed and disabled the Nigerian economy that has prior to the emergence of the present insecurity in the country been wobbling and quite unstable. It gives no credence to any form of debate to say that when the nexus of interrelations that exists within a system is partly broken such as we have continued to experience across the six geo-political zones with varying interest emanating and with groups now emerging to champion the cause of a minority groups that feel marginalized or that of a section that feels disenchanting for its non-political representation, non-inclusiveness or agitation for resource control and regional recognition and self-determination, then, it suffices to say that the part which incidentally culminates into the whole becomes a significant variable to be considered rather than being neglected at any given point in time. Thus Enoh (2000) in his contribution on structural functionalism aligns that structural functionalism views not only the society, but any unit in it - a social unit as constituting of parts which together make up the whole or structure. The idea of function it is argued, suggests that these structures and the accompanying parts all serve particular roles or functions without which the whole cannot exist or survive. In similar vein, the idea of structural functionalism further suggests that because the structure, though working in close affinity with the units, has some goals which secure the individual needs of constituting units. The units therefore must be ready to function in a way that they do not undermine the larger goals of the structure. Simply put, an economy becomes functionally efficient, strong and reliable, result-yielding and value adding, if it is able to make a meaningful impact as a unit of the society in a manner that improves the life of the society and that of the individuals in them and at the same time assures investors of the security of their investments and their operations within a minimum bearable loss. It, (that is the unit) must be assuring and be promising to safeguard the interest of all, and, must not in the least, be seen to compromise ethics, standard and best practice at local and international level. Corroborating Enoh's position, Deutsch (1973) relays that for each of the ways in the parts of a group may be interrelated, one could ask how variations in that type of relation within a group are likely to affect or be affected by the character of the group's relations with other groups.

## 6. Security: A Fundamental Need for Economic Growth and Development

It has earlier been argued, that capital, land and labour though significant and fundamentally symmetrical in business floating, both security and safety, of not only the business but that of the lives of the investors, the personnel and the business premises all matter as well today, noting how armed conflicts have continued to wreck havocs on global economics with relics that are too terrible to call for patronage and new or further investments and risk taking. Going a little further, the safety and the security of parties and agents or proxies that are connected to a business in all facets are all to be given a paramount concern in addition to the three above in any society today. The environmental challenges of violent conflicts, wars and their likes are indices that stifle social, economic and political development in many of African states in which Nigeria is a unit and major role player with international recognition today. Much as environmental challenges have become a militating factor to development, policy development, formulations, strategic planning and implementation are often not in favour of nipping the problem in the bud and, doing that at the right time since a number of the approaches that are used by state actors are haphazardly and ill prepared. Imobighe (2003) posits that the state has had a tendency for repressive and coercive solutions and is aversive to substantive dialogue and negotiations. The state through the inefficiency of its security and intelligence agencies and its insensitive and non-responsive character is neither proactive nor prompt in its response to conflicts. When it does respond, it is but a fire brigade type of response, which is to send troops to maintain law and order or restore a superficial normalcy. Junne and Verkoren (2005) while referring to Collier *et al.*, (2003) regarding the World Bank policy research report on *Breaking the Conflict Trap* remark that economic development is central to reducing the global incidence of conflict; however, this does not mean that the standard elements of development strategy – market access, policy reform, and aid are sufficient, or even appropriate, to address the problem. Again they further postulate that security – that is freedom from violence and coercion – is the one absolute prerequisite to any effective recovery process after the intensity of armed conflict subsides. Without the prospect of security they say, there is no hope; without hope, there is no commitment to a common future.

It is pertinent to say that the recent fire brigade approach adopted in handling or in the resolution of the on-going crises in a number of states in Nigeria have fallen short of yielding any serious result. Though the amnesty granted to the militants in Niger Delta in 1999 by Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua could be said to have given some palliative results. According to Shell report of 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2013, Nigeria loses N965bn (\$6.1bn) annually to oil theft as a result of pipeline vandalism and illegal refineries. ([mobile.punchng.com/output.php](http://mobile.punchng.com/output.php)). This apparently is a testimony to one of the horrific encounters that are daily experienced up till this moment in Niger Delta area; a situation that has continued to cripple the Nigerian economy to a state of comatose and moribund. It is yet to be seen, that the resources committed into the amnesty project in terms of human and capital resources are justifiable in view of the continued threats to return to creeks by ex-militia and the daily encounters of insecurity that emerge from the oil-rich region. How much relief has been recorded through the use of force as a mechanism for resolution or amnesty with cases of pipeline vandalism and deliberate bombing of pipelines, threat for secession, daily kidnapping of staff of multinational oil and non-oil companies and their auxiliary workers. How much respite has been achieved through peace-enforcement with rising cases of damages to telecommunication gadgets or masts in war-torn areas in the north-eastern part of Nigeria, the declaration of a 24 hour curfew that disallows common man, business premises, markets and banks from effective operations and the right to freedom of movement of the civilian population with children unable to access their schools sometimes for days or weeks? It may also be pertinent to know the impacts, that the shutting down of GSM networks emanating from emergency rule, a heavy investment on security involving both land and aerial attacks on parties to conflict, the establishment of a Multinational Joint Task Force and its huge financial and human cost have either overtly or covertly on our economy. What other problem, do the use of force and military intervention, aside of human rights violations and violence against civilians, burning of markets and robbing of banks as recently recorded in the on-going crises in many communities in Nigeria, mercenarism and cross-border support, the engagement of criminals under the extreme cover of insurgency to rob and engage in revenge missions and reprisal attacks could further emerge with passage of time to wreck havoc on our economy as a result of devastating and violent conflicts? The international perspective, the image denting and the need for positive image-making even if it were to be a cosmetic approach to improve relations all have serious devastations and attention-shifting on any economy as it is the case with the Nigerian economy.

Nigeria as remarked by the Global Peace Index report of June 2013 has been ranked 148<sup>th</sup> peaceful country in the world, making it one of the 14 most unsafe nations among the 162 that were assessed in this year's Global Peace Index (GPI). The Sydney based institute for Economic and Peace initiated the GPI, (Global Defense Initiative) regarded as the benchmark study in measuring peace, in partnership with non-governmental organizations and academic institutions around the world. The yearly report usually takes into consideration the security issues prevailing in various economies, particularly the extent of conflicts and degree of militarization. Nigeria's low ranking among peaceful nations around the globe may have obviously been informed according to the report by

the Boko Haram saga in the north eastern part of the country and the pervading cases of kidnapping in several parts of the South. Last year the nation was ranked 146 among 158 countries that were assessed in the peace index. Analysts were divided on the prospects of Nigeria becoming a peaceful haven for investors. While some cited the ongoing clampdown on terrorists and kidnappers as potent strategy for attaining peace, others believe that the coming electioneering campaigns and the lingering dearth of equity in resource distribution may fuel further crises within the system. ([www.theguardianmobile.com](http://www.theguardianmobile.com))

One may be tempted to ask, with all the positions taken in resolving many of the conflicts either termed religious, ethnic, political or resource based what achievements have been made? If there had been achievements in the past or in recent times, the gains have been so negligible and paltry while the resolution and peace-enforcement projects were so consuming in terms of human and capital resources. The resolution exercise has kept dilly-dallying, trying one resolution approach after the other, mindless of the failures and the capital intensive nature of the approaches and the impacts on the economy. Aside of the damages that armed conflicts must have monumentally vested or inflicted on the economy of the Nigerian nation, the human side of the damages has often received a low-keyed attention. While the parties in conflicts are principally concerned with winning rather than losing the battle, regardless of what it takes to do that, governance suffers and other serious state matters are often kept in abeyance. A number of problems always attend to violent conflict and social insecurity in a divided society; human and food security problem, water and environmental pollution, outbreaks of diseases and epidemics, falling standard of education. Sometimes schools are closed for weeks and academic works haphazardly carried out and still parents are made to pay for services that were not fully rendered by schools and institutions. A poor healthcare system, forced abdication of health workers from their duty posts for security reasons during violence leading to instant evacuation of patients to few operating healthcare centres that manage to render some skeletal services with high mortality cases and throat-cutting charges, threats from different areas and new emerging cases of dissidence all have serious devastations on economy and the entire life of a warring and a violently divided society.

While all these must have *robbed* the state of its resources, the economics of postconflicts that borders on reconstruction, reintegration and rehabilitation and development must all be consciously given some attention, though the economy hardly could have the wherewithal to do this, often, aids are sought with key stakeholders and development partners coming to give supports and by so doing, having the leverage to infiltrate the socio-political life of the nation. This remains one of the several means by which sovereignty, ethical and moral values are lost to foreign cultures and dictates. While it is true that it takes less to build peace, it takes the fortune of a society to end wars and bring sanity back to a system. Hermann (2001) while remarking on the ubiquitousness of conflict espouses that all branches of social research focus on one form or another of conflict. While economics deals with the struggle over the allocation of scarce (financial) resources and psychology concerned with the conflicts within a person's soul and between the individual and his or her immediate environment; sociology on the other hand, investigates the friction between or among groups within a society while political science examines the struggles between political actors for the control of national pinnacles of power with international relations addressing the rivalry between states or supra-national bodies in the international sphere. The common thread running through these diversified areas of research lies in the question of the rationality of conflicts, or at least their functionality.

## **7. The Conflict Management Styles Adopted in Managing the on-going Crises in Nigeria**

A number of approaches had been tried by the Nigerian state actor(s) while trying to broker peace in different conflict zones and flashpoint areas, sometimes in conjunction with the international community that keeps providing funds for capacity and peacebuilding trainings and advocacies. Sometimes, the state collaborates, though in a not too deep relationship with members of the non-state actors that work on peace initiative and development (the Civil Society Organizations) in executing some peacebuilding projects that might be one-off in nature. More interestingly it is observed, that civil society organizations work more in collaboration with development partners on skill building projects to empower stakeholders on conflict prevention, management and resolution on a more frequent basis than state actors who sparsely provide the logistic, technical and the monetary support needed to facilitate conflict management projects. Another conflict handling style that was used in the past and still in use by state actors is the declaration of emergence rule. The declaration of a state of emergence in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa by President Goodluck Jonathan on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of May, 2013 due to the persistence of the security breaches in those areas by President Goodluck Jonathan was not the first to be witnessed in recent times. Prior to the declaration of emergency rule in some parts of north-eastern zone of Nigeria, a partial state of emergency which was ineffective compared to that of President Olusegun Obasanjo on Plateau State's lingering crises had been declared according to Sahara Reporter (2011) on 15 Local Government Areas cutting across Borno, Yobe, Plateau and Niger states. This is just one of the several ways by which the Nigerian state continues to act in resolution of conflicts or peace-enforcement. (Anonymous, 2013)



At some other time, there had been cases of declaration of Amnesty and pardon such that was granted to the Niger Delta militants by Late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua regime on June 25 2009 pursuant to section 175 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and now by Goodluck Jonathan administration with a Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Resolution headed by Tanimu Turaki set up to do the rudimentary work needed to facilitate and actualize same for the insurgents in the north-east of Nigeria. This was the development before the declaration of the state of emergency on Tuesday 14 May, 2013, though the insurgents had derided the gesture by questioning the rationale and the reason for the pardon. With a state of emergency declared, the Presidential Committee still work assiduously to effect the amnesty project in spite of the sharp and vitriolic strictures it has continued to receive. The effectiveness of the amnesty to militants in the oil-rich community with the daily cases of anti-social behaviors despite the huge amount of money sunk into the project and the yearly budgetary allocation to the Ministry of Niger Delta, including funding of human and environmental development programmes from other non-governmental agencies, especially the multinational companies both oil and non-oil remains a question yet to be answered. Other steps that had been taken to enforce peace in flashpoint zones sometimes, had been the declaration of either a 24 hour curfew like it was the case in 11 areas within Maiduguri township during the state of emergency declared on Borno State and the two others – Yobe and Adamawa, and was the case in Jos and Bukuru metropolis sometime in the past at the peak of Jos ethnic turned religious crisis. Inter alia, a dusk-to-dawn form of a curfew as encountered in Yobe and Adamawa states respectively in May 2013 within the period of the state of emergency and severally, before the period itself has been a normal intervention strategy used by state actors though curfews are relaxed depending on the level of normalcy that is achieved as time passes on, still it comes normally with hardship since civilian population often do not prepare for items; either food or nonfood, especially things like medicament for unforeseen circumstances. The deployment of security personnel into conflict prone communities for peace-enforcement sometimes takes to land and aerial (air raid) operations leading to violent attacks on civilians, gross abuse and violations of human rights and all forms of debasement and internal displacements.

With all the apparent shortcomings, the challenges and the ineffectiveness of the resolution styles used by state actors that keep engendering hardships, worsening and grossly exacerbating the conflict situation, stakeholders have continued to ask how much the use of force has been able to achieve peace since we will eventually resort to dialogue and peaceful resolutions as options in the long rather than short run when much destructions must have been done by both parties and when the economy must have been made to suffer painfully and, immensely. The use of tear gas canisters, water-cannon, rubber bullets had all been reported to have serious health implications on war victims especially the vulnerable group; children had convulsed because of the heavy and vibrating sounds of gunshots, women had encountered miscarriages or still-births, aged had developed some form of health problems and socially, children now demonstrate and act, playing and mimicking shooting with items that are shaped inform of guns and playfully refer to sounds of guns as ringtone. (Anonymous, 2013)

#### **8. Investing on Peace, not when there is a War**

Our normal strategy for resolving conflict and for building peace has always been that of using a block-and-tackle approach. This approach has not in the least helped us as a society or as an economy. When we abdicate our corporate and social responsibility of building peace with minimum resources, refuse to make a shift in emphasis, of improving our capital base and agitations for high profit returns, a shift in attention of our over concentration of time, energy and resources on our cash-flow system, the struggle for a prompting and tempting corporate image, there is the tendency that we will continue to flourish in our businesses and make some positive impacts in the nation's economy but with little or no guarantee that such will last or continue for as long as we operate as a business or, as an economy. It therefore behooves, that as corporate and civil organizations, we should expand our frontier of social responsibilities to include peacebuilding, peace education and awareness creation, encourage collaboration and networking and fund the establishment of counseling centres and psychological clinics for managing psychological problems and for trauma healing and stress management. We have reached a stage where business premises are no longer safe or spared in conflict situations, hence, the deployment of security personnel to places with high tendency of risks and attacks today. In view of this, building proactive and peace development strategies to continue to thrive in our business and for the economy to flourish and be peace protective now becomes a challenge. In the words of Addison, Chowdhury and Murshed (2005) conflict has fiscal dimensions. Who gets what via public spending and who pays for it via taxes may play a role in the descent into conflict. In turn violent conflict leads to further fiscal deterioration while the revenue from indirect taxes fall as economic activities shrinks.

Corroborating this argument is the opinion that notes, that conflict, either protracted or violent has the potency to change the economic structures of national economies and, to create a 'conflict economy', one that is not quickly altered by a peace agreement. Such an economy it is said, perpetuates the very structures that have given rise to the conflict and can easily lead to new violence. Added to this is the situational and deteriorating development

that gives rise to rebel groups, violent and criminal entrepreneurs (for instance, in gun-running, supplies of state-of-arts weapons and ammunitions), war lords and conflict beneficiaries that must have masterminded the conflict are later invited to rebuild the state and rehabilitate the warring factions at postconflict stage. Aid agencies and development partners that create new structures of access to resources and power or produce an alternative structure of winners and losers, how to pay for reconstruction, how to build a sensitive financial system and how to build a broad-based recovery and a political economy that is expansive and all-encompassing all become central and fundamental in a violently divided society as noted by Junne and Verkoren (2005).

### Conclusion

It is feasible to plan for peace. Because we have concentrated our resources and efforts on warfare, on garrison building and, on the use of guerilla as a strategy for conflict resolution, we have built an arsenal that is prompting, tempting and war supportive, it has been difficult to manage our conflict effectively. Because we have developed a zero-tolerance for dialogue and amicable settlement of conflicts, we cannot, but opt to go for war at the slightest provocation that only demands our patience and a common understanding. Our choice of *guns* for *gongs*, - an instrument that had over a century, served in calling for peace and truce while the gun had nothing to do other than to hunt, has continued to worsen our mode of intervention and successful return to peace. Today, humanity has chosen the gun as a subtle means of resolving its differences, hence peace is elusive and hard to come by. From arms, we have had peace-enforcement rather than resolution, and violence against civilians resulting to rights violations and genocides. But feasible it is to build peace and make more friends, and feasible it is to change our paranoia of enemy image to that of a friend and make global fraternity a possibility. This is easy for us to do as individuals, as families, economy, government and, as a community if we only could change our myopic and poor understanding of conflict.

- What is needed today is nothing other than peace. With peace we can be sure of human and food security, a boom in our economy, a flourishing society and a safe humanity. With peace we are guaranteed of a safe environment that is welcoming rather than threatening, promising rather than failing. The last three years have been so challenging to us as a nation, though, a slightly above decade of armed conflict and violent crises, we have failed as a nation in managing our conflicts and in protecting humanity from genocide and war crime. It is but woeful, to dedicate our resources in building peace in places like Mali to the tune of \$45million with a promise of another \$2million for election purposes aside of the *big brother* role we have continued to play in other African countries. We do not have the resources to continue to spend on wars, while our healthcare system is falling and our people are dying, our education system gradually collapsing, with unemployment on the increase and crime rate not ebbing out. It is defaming in a country with vast and sizeable virgin and arable land to see rice - a staple food in every household being imported to feed the populace, unresolved conflicts dotting our communities and violence everywhere. The on-going wars in some parts of Nigeria, and the series of the anti-social behaviors speak of the bestiality that has come over us as human and our sheer disregard for the sacrosanct of lives as a government. With dialogue we would resolve our conflict and manage well our differences. With armed resistance, we would continue to jeopardize the chances that are tenable for us to grow and develop as a nation.

### Recommendations

- It is often difficult to stop war the moment the stage has been set, so is violent conflict. Since life proceeds in terms of a series of psychological crises, and personality is a function of their outcomes, it is but deserving that we prepare as a society ahead of those encounters; both natural and human made that may have the potency of disintegrating, destabilizing or destroying our society. In view of the present state of social insecurity in Nigeria, and, as a way of improving the worsening security situation and create a buffer for the endangering economy, this study has the following as its recommendations
- There is the need to strengthen Counseling services not only at the school level, but across the different sectors and segments of our communities today with the growing spate of youth restiveness, drug and substance abuse, peer influence, domestic violence, behavioral and maladjustment problems, women involvement and participation in violent conflicts, psychological problems and trauma wounds in individuals so as to check the emerging cases of armed and negative conflicts in our society
- The Nigerian National Policy on Education, content designers and curriculum experts should endeavor to incorporate Peace Education into the curriculum with topics hinging on multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism, social cohesion, teambuilding and joint problemsolving, women in peacebuilding, peace and war economics, economics of conflicts all included as units to be taught to pupils and students with courses on peace studies to be made compulsory as core subjects or courses of study from secondary to tertiary institutions

- The principle of nonviolent resistance to conflict, peaceful cohabitation, do no harm, respect for other peoples' views and opinions, conflict prevention, peacebuilding and dialogue should be strengthened in conflict management and skill building trainings by agencies and groups that engage on peacebuilding and conflict management
- As a step towards sustainable and lasting peace, government, agencies, institutions and stakeholders that work on peacebuilding should try as they manage conflicts to discover the root causes of the conflicts they are managing or that they are about to manage; both remote and immediate, discover the needs and interest of the warring parties but not at positional level
- Though could be capital intensive and resource consuming, government should endeavor to embark on postconflict recovery programs, socio-economic reconstruction, human rehabilitation, reintegration and development, disarmament and demobilization to cushion the effects of wars, resettle and reintegrate conflict actors for them to become useful to their communities they have once destroyed and disengage them from war economics and temptations that could instigate their return to violent conflicts or support for war
- Stakeholders across the different divides should see the challenge of building peace constituencies and economic friendly environments as a task and a national duty on all
- The principle of forgiveness and not revenge, anger management, trust and confidence building are all core in conflict resolution. Agencies; both state and non-state, should try to deemphasize recalls and references that might harden positions or derail a resolution process
- Government should ensure, that at any period of intervention, rules of engagement and operations order binding and guarding peacekeeping operations are respected, work on common grounds with other key stakeholders and pivotal groups to install peace, encourage nonviolent resistance to conflict, strengthen the mediation capacity of traditional and religious institutions, non-governmental and civil based organizations for effective conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution exercise
- The Federal government should try to develop a framework for military-civilian relations that will best address and improve the weakening relations between the two noting the emerging polarization of ethno-religious insinuations, suspicion, fragmentations and other form of prejudice and sentiments
- There is need to partner with both local and international stakeholders that have some bilateral relations with Nigeria and are genuinely interested in peacebuilding rather than supply of ammunitions for peace enforcement on synergizing all the available potentials for enhanced and a sustainable national security
- The civil society should be made to serve as a watchdog to adopt a less conventional approach that is more integrative, give ownership to the local stakeholders and peacebuilders and try to work with others in the enterprise of security maintenance
- Religious leaders should try to use the pulpit to preach peace and not to incite or open a healed wound while government across the three tiers should endeavor to deemphasize the current trend of segregated settlement patterns across ethnic and religious leanings where such habitations exist
- There is the need for prudent measures and restraints to protect civilian population and property during peace-enforcement exercise in conflict or war areas and in like manner, there is the need for disarmament of weapons; both small and large which might come through persuasion for voluntary retirement of arms or alternatively through cordon-and-search operation to reduce the volumes of arms in the civilian hands, and, in circulation

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